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291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments 789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 308 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and 751 adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and [462] is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- [824] proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [412] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame- [283] work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

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526 prize. Someone is blindfolded, and an arrow is stuck in the ground far from him. If he finds the arrow, he is allowed to retain it. "They sometimes stick several arrows in the ground. If he finds one, all the rest belong to him."

524 Children play a game that may be likened to "heads and tails," using a bone with sides distinguished from each other by shape or color. Sometimes the bone is spit upon and the sides are called "wet" and "dry." If the side he has named shows uppermost, the player in possession of the bone wins the throw and retains the bone. Otherwise the bone changes hands. Today the game is played with a metal knife that has a handle rough on one side and smooth on the other.

[178 412]

526 In an exciting ball game a member of one side throws a buckskin ball to a member of the opposition who is standing with his team mates in a large circle or safety zone. This individual hits the ball with his hand, and he or one of his team mates must then run to another safety zone some distance away. The side of the thrower tries to retrieve the ball and hit the runner with it before he reaches the other circle. Should the runner be struck, his opponents make a rush for the safety zones, while he and his helpers try to recover the ball and strike one of the other team with it before he gains the circle. After the exchange, when the "ins" and "outs" are decided, the round of pitching and batting starts again.

524 The boys sometimes make clay marbles and dry them in the sun or near the fire, but often round stones are used instead. In one marble game a row of holes is scooped out. The order of play is determined by seeing who can roll a marble closest to a line. The object of the game is to roll the marble into each of the holes. A successful play for the first hole entitles the player to try for the second. When the row of holes has been traversed, the player must play in the opposite direction and come back to the starting-point. The first one to accomplish this is the winner. Instead of throwing directly toward a hole, a player is entitled to try to knock a competitor out of the way. If he strikes the marble at which he aims, he is allowed another throw for the hole.

Another marble game calls for four players, sitting around a

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one is present, spit into the masks four times, make three ritual feints toward themselves with the headdresses, and draw the masks over their heads the fourth time. Now they are ready to move in single file down the hillside, led by their most experienced dancer.

As they depart, they present a colorful spectacle. They wear high moccasins (with upturned toe) and buckskin skirts. These are colored yellow. The skirt is held in place by a broad belt; and from the skirt are suspended pendants of various kinds.[7] The arms and upper part of the body, with the exception of the face, are entirely covered with paint. Black, white, and yellow are most used; blue appears occasionally. The motifs most frequently employed are narrow bands of contrasting color, a branching design to stand for cactus, a saw-toothed element, a stepped line, a zigzag line, the triangle, the Greek cross, a pattée type cross, and a four-pointed star. These designs may remain the same all four nights, the same design may be used the first and third nights and another the second and fourth nights, or different designs may be painted each evening. Occasionally, the painted designs on the leader vary slightly from those of the others. The dancers carry painted wooden sticks in each hand; one or both of those carried by the leader may have a cross-piece at the handle. Long, narrow, buckskin streamers with eagle feathers attached are tied just above the elbows.

The mask is a buckskin hood which fits snugly over the head and is gathered at the neck by a drawstring. Two tiny holes for the eyes, and one sometimes cut at the mouth, are the only openings. These hoods are usually painted black but are also seen in yellow, in blue, or in two tones. When they are not a solid color, they may show such design elements as have been mentioned for the body. On the mask, at the forehead or nose

[7] Today, small cone-shaped jingles of tin have taken the place of these on the dance kilts, the dress made for the pubescent girl, and on other objects (awl cases, buckskin bags, burden baskets, etc.). To make these tin jingles, the metal is cut to proper size, placed over a depression in a board, and smartly struck at the median point. This curls the two sides, and it is then an easy matter to press them together with the fingers to form the cone, which is attached to the garment on a length of fringe.

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881 raises her arms upright from the elbows with palms outward,
533 holds her feet close together, and moves from left to right and
535 right to left by alternately pivoting on her toes and her heels. The second type of song calls for an "in-place" step and provides rest from the exertions of the first type. In its performance the girl sways in place with her hands on her hips.[12]

Because of the repetition of its verses, each song is long, and the shuffling step is very tiring. But, whenever the girl is weary, she may stop and kneel, even though the song is not finished.
[793] The singer makes no attempt to test or to overtax her.

The singer watches the girl and uses his judgment. The idea is not to let her get too tired. There is the dance the girls do with their arms up. The word for it means "shuffling," sliding to a place as a horse does. They sing about six songs of this kind and then change to the one where the girl dances in place with her hands on her hips. The singer tells the girl which dance to do if she does not know. They sing fewer songs of this second kind. These are just to rest the girl.

[276] Every fourth, sixth, or twelfth song may be set aside for a
[461] "smoking song," after which the singer smokes or prays:

After about six songs they have a smoking song. They smoke after this song; all those inside can smoke then. There is no dancing during the smoking song. The girl can rest; she can kneel but cannot sit. She must have her body erect. There are many of the smoking songs. After this they start singing and dancing again.

The initial song of the first night is of the shuffling-step type. "This is the first song sung. It is the home's own song, the first one sung when they are in there." The second song, also of the shuffling-step variety, simply repeats between refrains these words:

[539]

I have walked well
Into the home of White Painted Woman.

Now follow songs of the singer's choosing, fixed only in accordance with the general pattern already outlined. No definite number of songs need be sung during the night. One singer remarked:

[78] [12] An informant described a third step, which he claims was formerly danced by the pubescent girl. "It is called 'walking around.' The girl has her arms up and her elbows pointed down. She walks forward, turns toward the south, and comes back, doing this four times. It's mostly to rest and relax." This step is not performed now.

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Sometimes these affairs become a testing-ground for love and result in stable union. Such a case is the one cited below, where social dancing acted as a shield for a sexual adventure. The individuals involved have been happily married for many years now: 836 581

> When I danced with her, I'd say, "What are we fooling around here for? We could be by ourselves." The next time she'd pull my sleeve, and we'd dance a little. Then I'd say, "Let's go." I'd go one way, and she'd go the other. We'd meet at a certain place.

Many problems arise when premarital sex relations result in pregnancy, especially if the man involved flees, denies responsibility, or is considered undesirable. The girl's kinsmen can no longer demand generous marriage gifts and will be relieved to find a man who will agree to support another's child. If a husband cannot be found for the girl prior to the birth of her baby, the public nature of the scandal and the necessity of provision for the child raise further issues. Therefore, resort is sometimes made to abortion, and illegitimate children are occasionally abandoned or destroyed at birth. 836 848 [583] [847]

Herbalists give decoctions said to promote abortion. "There is a medicine used. You have to hire someone who knows how to make and use it." Mechanical means are also attempted: 847 [759]

> They try to bring about abortion by pressing themselves over a sharp stick or stump, or by getting someone to press the stomach in a certain way. It was practiced in the old days, and it is practiced now. News of it always leaks out, though it is practiced in secret. [178] [203]

> To perform abortion they press and massage the stomach. The girl shouldn't have anything to eat for several days.

Of the fate of an unwanted illegitimate child the following suspicion was voiced: "A certain man's daughter was in trouble a while back. She's just a young girl. They say her baby was born dead, but I think she killed it, or her relatives killed it in some way." 848 [847]

When illegitimate children are not disposed of, however, they are treated kindly. "Illegitimate children are often kept, and such a child is not discriminated against. It lessens a woman's [581]

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 [584] Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[1]

881 864 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they [841] must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loincloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, [492] unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.
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> 881 867 836 581 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 [582] The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[1] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too [1178] young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

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606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of [593] economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is 606 591 596 usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too.

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

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Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband.

[581] [182] [587]

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations.

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

[178]

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on.

602 606

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[1]

[195]

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop

[605]

[1] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either." [787] [526]

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Snake."—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

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It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

"The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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He cut a stick about nine inches long and began to whittle on it. He sharpened it at both ends. Suspecting that they were caught, the couple stole off and they lay together again, but the girl didn't see the stick that the boy had made. When they lay down, the boy put the stick at her belly, and when he pushed down, the stick went through her. Because it was sharpened at both ends, it went through him too, and they both died.

The people missed them, searched for them, and found them dead. In this case the parents were good and not witches, and that is why the boy killed his sister and himself.

In these days the charge of witchcraft is still made in cases of incest but not with as much effectiveness as formerly:

R. married C.'s daughter. C. and this boy's father were full brothers. C. didn't like it. He went to the boy. He told him, "Your father was my full brother. Why do you want to marry my daughter? People will call you a witch." He went to the agent about it, but he finally gave in. That's why there is so much trouble here now, they say. It's because things like this go on. The young people now are like dogs, like billy goats.

By the equation of incest with witchcraft, the gravest crime in the religious sphere and the most abhorrent act in the social realm have been combined. The charge of witchcraft acts as the dragnet which combs the society for the flagrant aberrant.[15]

Punishment of witches.—From the attitude toward those judged guilty of incest, the stern treatment of witches may be anticipated:

Sometimes personal revenge is taken on the witch. Every once in a while a witch is killed by the one he has been working against or by a dead man's relatives who find him out. Often they are shot. No one knows for sure who does it. . . . The last case I know of happened twenty years ago. A man and his wife were shot as they came on horseback out of the canyon from the feast grounds where they had been working witchcraft.

[15] The data presented indicate the strong reactions of the majority of informants to incest and their equation of it with witchcraft. Some informants took a milder stand, however. Said one: "For incest between distant relatives, the punishment would not be so severe. A person might be whipped until he couldn't stand, but that's all. There is talk and disapproval, but after the pair are punished, the thing is forgiven and forgotten." Said another: "Not so much is thought about it if they are very distant relatives. They are whipped and insulted. This would not spoil their chance of marriage later on. A person who is pretty hard up is bound to get married sooner or later."

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When a person has a special ceremony, from Lightning, for instance, he will pray directly to Lightning and will not call on Life Giver. But many feel that Life Giver is answering through this other source. Life Giver is an old conception.[11] The very old Indians pray this way. Some old Indians who don't know the first thing about Christianity the way the preacher speaks of it, pray this way. . . . . We think of Life Giver as a spirit of no particular sex. We do not attribute deeds to Life Giver. No pollen would be thrown to Life Giver.

Child of the Water figures prominently in religious traditions and ritual. However, it is believed that his work was largely completed when he departed from earth. Though he once busied himself prodigiously with the affairs of man, now he is almost a sky-god, magnificent and rather remote. Occasionally, someone believes that Child of the Water has "talked" to him. One informant was certain that this supernatural was reaching him through the medium of dreams, for instance.

For ceremonial purposes White Painted Woman is the feminine counterpart of Child of the Water, and the time of her direct impingement upon worldly affairs, too, is at an end. Perhaps the most important use of this supernatural in rites now is a symbolic one. For instance, in a certain lightning ceremony the earth is referred to as White Painted Woman. This symbolism proves to be a dramatization of the legend of the birth of the culture hero. Just as lightning strikes the earth today, so White Painted Woman lay down "while the lightning flashed four times and acted as a man to beget Child of the Water. This is why the three are connected, and to this day White Painted Woman is mentioned in the lightning ceremony."

The ideological association between the earth and White Painted Woman is found in more than one context. "In any

[11] Despite this insistence on the antiquity of the conception of Life Giver, a good guess would be that the present position of this deity is a response to European doctrine. The word that has been translated Life Giver can be literally rendered "the one because of which I live." The individual still refers to his personal supernatural power source by that same linguistic form or a slight variant of it. Life Giver is apparently a symbolization of supernatural power as such, the reservoir from which particular power grants and ceremonies flow. The European influence in this greater personalization of diffuse supernatural power can be inferred from the synonyms for Life Giver, which are Yuan (from the Spanish *Dios*) and "He Sits in the Sky."

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It is true that the old Chiricahua wouldn't eat fish. They say of fish, "They are slippery and slick just like snakes, and they are relatives to the snakes. They are relatives to the lizards and all the nasty ones." It looks just that way to them. And toads and frogs and tadpoles are classed with snakes. The Chiricahua wouldn't eat them. They never ate fish until they got to Fort Sill. Even now I don't like such things. I get a headache from them. I'm not used to such food, and it doesn't agree with my stomach.

I was up at the Ruidoso River for two years as a guard. I had to look at the passes, and those who didn't have the right ones I chased out. Those campers would bring fish to us every day. The fish were cleaned and fried. I would say to my wife, "Let's try it." We'd try a little, and then we'd have to throw it away. There were those poor fellows running themselves ragged every day trying to catch those fish, and here we were throwing them away just as soon as the people left! Even canned fish doesn't agree with me. My wife can't eat it either. There was no mention of sickness from fish though. I never heard any ceremonial songs about that. Many I[illegible]s eat fish now; they go around and fish. [753] [178]

A similar frame of mind is revealed in another account:

People did not fish when I was a boy. Fish was not eaten; it was not an Indian food in the old days. We classed fish with the snake and thought it could bite. We thought it could cause evil influence. There was no ceremony connected with it though. It is only since contact with the whites that fish is eaten. Formerly we had no separate names for different kinds of fish. [825] [177]

A younger man reaffirmed this last statement and added, "We younger people distinguish different kinds of fish. We call catfish 'fish with whiskers' and perch and bass 'fish without bones,' for instance." [825] This young man went on to say:

It is perhaps true that P.'s group might have eaten fish. They were nearer water. At Fort Sill (1894–1913) about one-third didn't eat fish still—this many at least. The old folks didn't care if the young people ate fish. I ate it. I could eat it right next to old men who didn't eat it, and they wouldn't scold. A father would not object if his son ate it, but he would object if his son ate bear meat.

It is undoubtedly true that, since fish is not so definitely an animal of "evil influence" as the bear or the coyote, its use as food is more likely to be left to individual taste. Nevertheless, if the incident that follows is taken as a guide, the young man probably underestimates the animus of many of the older people toward fish: [825]

The old people won't eat fish or pork. Some won't eat pork yet, and few will eat fish. If my mother eats a little pork, it makes her sick right away. She won't have fish around at all.

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The round dance takes place after the war dance at the return of the party. It can come at day or night. The dance is to show that they hate the enemy. The men are in a knot in the center and go around the fire with drums, singing. The women are in a circle outside facing toward the men. They dance in a sunwise circle. The men go around too. They sing songs about raid and war, like:

Whatever you have brought back with you,
Give me some of it.

This is a sample of the songs sung; they have to do with what happens on the warpath. Another of these songs tells of one who got out on a war party and then got separated from the others. In the words it says:

I've been wandering around,
Wandering around;
When I got home,
Everyone had moved.

The partner dance, in which the woman is free to choose a male partner, follows the round dance, just as it does the nights of the girl's puberty rite. Again the women are paid by the men who have danced with them. One informant claims that the obligation to pay the dance partner is fundamental to the victory celebration, when the men are in possession of booty, and that the gift-giving following the dancing of the puberty rite is an outgrowth of this custom. "The only time men paid for social dancing in the old days was when they returned from the warpath," he asserts. "They did not pay for dancing with women during the puberty ceremony in the old days."

In the fourth dance of the night, as at the girl's puberty rite, a line of men and another of women face each other and alternately approach and separate.

A Southern Chiricahua informant mentioned one other dance which he claims sometimes took place at a victory celebration. This he calls "holy singing walk." As he describes it, a single line of individuals, with men and women alternating, extends spokelike from the fire and swings around it sunwise: "They dance this when they come back from a war party, after the 'fierce dance.' There are no partners to it. Religious songs go with it; this is more of a religious dance."

There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally dis-

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When the head is used for food, one way to fix it is to dig a hole, line it with rocks, and build a fire in there. It makes lots of ashes. Put the head in on top of the ashes and grass on top of the head. Sprinkle the grass with water and cover with dirt. Let it roast a day or a night. Usually the tongue is taken out first. 252 262

Sometimes the feet, liver, and entrails are placed in the earth oven with the head and are cooked with it for a day or a night.

The pit is used, too, for cooking fetal deer and antelopes, which are considered a delicacy. "The unborn of deer and antelopes are good eating. The meat is soft and has a good taste. We don't steam grown animals in an underground oven. But we do do it to a deer not yet born. This can also be prepared like any other meat, however."

Although the intestines are not so well liked as other parts, the hunter usually brings them home:

The intestines are much better if the animal is fat. We don't care much for the intestines anyway if we have plenty of other meat. If the hunter is loaded up on returning from the hunt, he does not bother with the intestines, especially if the animal is not fat. When he brings the intestines home, the hunter turns them over with the other meat to the woman who is going to cook it. She takes the outside off, working downward and squeezing out any waste left as she does so. Then she cooks them without washing them. Now the young people turn them inside out and wash them. [178]

Intestines are cooked over the coals. Another good way to cook them is to stuff a piece with meat and fat. The woman puts sticks through each end so the filling won't come out. Then she puts it on a hot stone by the fire to cook. The windpipe of an animal is stuffed in this same way too. But the intestine is used just in an emergency when food is scarce. Now when we kill a sheep we throw away the intestines. We save only the liver and sometimes the heart from the inside.

Liver is usually thrown on the coals of an open fire and roasted. Sometimes a sort of "blood sausage" is made. The hunter fills the paunch with the blood of the animal he has killed and brings it home. Then the woman "adds fat and onions and puts it in the coals or in a pot, cooking it until the blood gets thick and tastes like liver. She punctures the stomach so it won't explode. She puts in some of the little red chili peppers that grow in the mountains of Old Mexico. These are small, like marbles." [263] When it is not used in this way, the stomach is seldom eaten:

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462 313 [283] [281] Men can carry wood, but they think it is woman's work. The women make their own rope out of hide, a special rope. It is about five yards long and of hard rawhide. They soften it with brains just enough so they can tie it. The women use this rope for getting wood.

313 482 283 When a woman is going to get some wood, she doesn't carry great logs. She gets thin pieces of brush and sticks about three feet long and makes them into a bundle about a foot and a half thick. She ties the bundle at either end with this rope, leaving a rather long loop between. She puts the wood in a bundle on her back, and the rope comes over her shoulders and across her chest, or else just across her forehead.

A man could use this rope if he wanted to—to hobble horses for instance. But the rope is put where the woman can get it any time to carry wood. The man uses it only if he needs a rope in a hurry.

312 462 [415] The woman must keep on hand a plentiful supply of water for drinking, cooking, and washing. She brings it from a near-by spring or stream in a pitch-covered basketry jar.

281 [462] [1193] *Tanning and the use of hides.*—"Tanning the hide is always considered woman's work. Men never do it." In the mythology, when Woodpecker wishes to deceive Coyote and make him think he is a girl, he scrapes a hide after the fashion of women. Yet certain realistic concessions are made. "Sometimes a man helps if it is a hard job, a big hide; he helps stretch it because it takes great strength."

The fresh pelt is treated in this manner:

[412] [178] First the woman who is doing the tanning scrapes off the flesh with a sharpened deer bone or a sharp-edged stone. (At present she uses a scraper with a toothed metal blade.) Then she soaks the hide in water for two or three days—not too long or it will spoil. To soak the skin, she uses a basin formed of some stiff hide. Then she takes the skin out of the water and wraps it around a pole. She leans this pole against a tree so that the hide will not pull away. Then she scrapes downward with a sharpened horse rib and takes the hair off. She uses a rib near the neck because it is wider there.

When all the hair has been removed, she puts some grass on the ground and lays the skin on top of this grass with the inner side facing upward. She pegs it out here in the sun to dry for two or three days. If it is lumpy or too thick in places, she works it over with a rough stone to even it up and to soften it at those places.

The process of transforming the scraped hide into buckskin has been thus described:

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281 462 skin, the man cuts out the pieces to be used, and the woman sews them together.

281 386 The women color buckskin with a number of dyes of their own making. Dark brown is obtained from the juice of fresh walnut hulls, crushed and pressed. The buckskin is soaked in a mixture of the walnut-hull juice and water and is then re-worked to softness. Red is secured from the boiled root and bark of mountain mahogany. When this dye is lukewarm or cool, the buckskin is put in it and is left overnight or for a day; later it must be reworked with a stone until it is pliable. A yellow decoction is made by soaking algerita roots. The buckskin is left in the dye until it is yellow and is afterward pounded and softened. Yellow ocher is sometimes applied to the entire surface of a buckskin; as the color wears away, more ocher must be rubbed on.

294 237 283 Sewing is essentially the concern of the women, though men on the raid will do repair work. For thread, the woman needs sinew. Therefore the hunter, when he butchers an animal, always removes the sinew from the loin very carefully and presents it to his wife. Sinew from any large game animal is acceptable, though that from the deer is considered best. In recent times [178] [412] sinew from the horse and the steer have come to be widely used. With an awl made from the sharpened leg bone of the deer, the woman punches a hole in the skin she is sewing, moistens the end of the sinew, and runs it through the hole.

285 [462] [824] *Basketry.*—Basket-making is one of the many tasks for which the woman supplies both the materials and the labor, and she possesses a large fund of knowledge concerning substances and techniques. She rarely uses cottonwood, since it breaks too easily. She does not use willow unless no other materials are available. She knows that, if she gathers stems in the spring, she will have to let them dry for some days but that, if she takes them in the winter, they are dry enough to use almost at once.

285 824 The woman makes a coiled tray basket with sumac stems for the foundation and yucca leaves for the sewing material and designs it with yucca of various colors:

To turn the yucca yellow, put dry grass among the leaves in the yucca plant while it is standing in the ground; then set fire to the grass. The fire and smoke

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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484 [765] [513] were in use, for, if some member of the family should die and the bed is not taken apart in this manner, it would be at the last camp site as it was when it was used by this dead person and would remind others of the user. This causes sorrow to friends and relatives.

821 805 There are a number of methods for reckoning time, so that movements and meetings may be planned and ceremonies performed according to a schedule:

> During the day, time is judged by the shadows caused by the sun. It is noon when the shadow drops just under you. Some people place a stick upright in the ground and watch the movement of the shadow to figure out the time of day. Another way is to note how many fingers the sun is above the horizon. On cloudy days you have to guess at the position of the sun.
>
> We notice the shortening of the days as winter gets near. As soon as the days begin to lengthen, we say, "It [the sun] has begun to move back upward."
>
> During the night we tell time by the position of the moon and the morning star. In wintertime the morning star gets as high as halfway between the horizon and the zenith. When it is in this position, it is nearly morning.

The Big Dipper is used in telling time at night. "As its stars 'spin around' it is possible to tell the passage of the night by whether the cup is turned or not." "The Dipper turns around and faces down; this takes all night." Another group of stars consulted for the time of night is the Pleiades. "You can see it early in the evening in winter in the east. When it is high, morning is near."

821 Stars that appear at certain seasons are noted. "There is a star that is right straight up in the summer. We call it 'rock bed' after the rocks at the bottom of the mescal pit."

264 Members of the household usually eat two meals together, although sometimes individuals eat during the day as they get hungry and gather for an evening meal only:

> We never followed the three-meals-a-day idea at home or away. Even in the morning there wasn't a regular meal unless there was meat that had to be boiled and eaten warm. Then we would eat together for convenience. Otherwise there [178] was no system. Three meals a day is recent. At home, in everyday life, the women eat with the men, but at social dances and feasts they do not.

[412] [824] Each person helps himself from a common container, using his fingers for solid foods and a yucca-blade spoon for liquids. Though "it is considered impolite to make a noise while eating,"

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it is permissible "to smack the lips to show that you are enjoying yourself when you are eating out." 264

Not only the stomach but the entire body should be "fed":

> We put grease on the legs when we eat in order to "feed" them. It makes us good runners. After we eat fat meat there is grease on our hands, and we rub them on the legs and say, "Let me be a fast runner." Sometimes the leg bone of an animal is broken, and the marrow is rubbed on the lower legs, the forearms, the hair, and the face while this is said. [826] [481]

There are few special usages in departing from friends or in returning to them. A phrase "said at parting, by people who are very graceful in speech, to a friend, acquaintance, or relative" can be literally translated, "May we live and see each other again." Upon returning after a long absence, the formal manner of expressing pleasure and greeting is the embrace. "Friends and relatives embrace; if a friend does it, it means that he thinks a great deal of you." 576

Loneliness growing out of separations has a special treatment. "If you are lonesome, if you have lost someone, or if your daughter has gone away and you are worrying all the time, they put a basket over your head four times, and then you are all right. Now they use a bucket or a sack too." 828 [178]

There are no set phrases to be uttered when a friend is encountered in the vicinity of the camps. "We have no words like 'Good morning' or 'Good evening.' But when we meet a person, we have to say something. You can't call a person's name. You must be clever and say something appropriate to the occasion. You might start off by asking, 'Where have you been?' " 576 [551]

The question of greetings and salutations directs attention again to the proper use of the name.[1] The manner of its employment is well summarized in two statements: 576 551

> The name is very valuable. Children are taught not to call a person's name when they meet him. My own name is "Making a Bed All the Time." When I

[1] That the name need not distinguish the sex of the bearer has already been mentioned (see p. 9). An incident illustrates the point. "A woman's name and a man's name are not distinguishable. If I hear nothing more than a name, I have no idea whether it belongs to a man or a woman, just from the sound or meaning. My wife mentioned a certain name. I thought she was talking about a certain man. One day I saw him pass by and I said, "There goes So-and-so 551

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263 picked, cut open, dried on sticks, and used in sweetening different foods.

262 The fruits of various genera of cacti are still used as [178] food but no longer constitute an important article of diet among these Apache. Formerly the Chiricahua Apache, [137] who ranged in western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and to the south in Old Mexico, utilized as food the fruit of the sahuaro or giant cactus *(Carnegiea gigantea)* and of the organ-pipe cactus or pitahaya dulce *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*. Their name for it was *madaya*, an Apache corruption of pitahaya. [171] The gathering and utilization of these fruits by the Chiricahua Apache was not unlike that reported by Castetter and Underhill *(5:*21) for the Papago; the reader is referred to that paper for a discussion of the [184] subject. The Mescalero Apaches never have used these species as they do not grow within their present or past range.

252 The ripe fruit of a number of species of Opuntia, prickly 262 pear cactus, was commonly utilized as food. The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made [413] by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a [824] brush of stiff stems of sacaton grass *(Sporobolus wrightii)* while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in bur- [251] den baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and [824] stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it [251] enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked [153] form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever; Bourke *(2:*44) corrobor- [222] ates this. The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women [482] collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part [251] of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food.

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food. The fruits of the hedgehog cactus *(Echinocereus coccineus)*, the salmon-flowered hedgehog *(E. lecanus)*, the desert strawberry *(E. fendleri)*, the golden spined strawberry *(E. chrysocentrus)*, and the rainbow cactus *(E. rigidissimus)* were gathered occasionally and eaten fresh. Several species of *Neomammillaria*, including the sunset cactus *(N. grahami)*, the snowball pincushion *(N. olivia)*, and the horned toad cactus *(N. mainae)* were at times eaten without preparation, although fruits of the sunset cactus were often dried and stored for winter use, when they were cooked before being eaten.

Mesquite *(Prosopis glandulosa)* is one of the most widespread and best known plants of the Southwest and its sweet, nutritious fruits have been and still are rather extensively used as a source of food. The beans of the mesquite were gathered, boiled, pounded on a hide or ground on a metate, the mixture placed in a pan and worked with the hands until it attained a thick consistency. Formerly the raw beans were ground on a metate into flour, at present a meat grinder is used for this purpose. In either case the seed coats were winnowed from the flour. The mesquite flour was usually made into bread as well as into a sort of pancake, which these Indians regarded as most delicious. Frequently the beans were cooked with meat, and the seed coats spit out as the combination was eaten. Gregg *(8:102)*, evidently referring to these Apache of New Mexico, wrote that the mesquite pod was ground for flour with which to make their favorite pinole.

Occasionally the pods containing the seeds were boiled in water until the mixture turned red, after which the pods were taken out and mashed by hand, then put back in the container and boiled again until the water had been almost all boiled off. This constituted a sort of pudding.

Similarly the yellow fruits of the screw bean or tornillo *(Strombocarpa pubescens)* were extensively gathered, dried, and stored in sacks. The pods, which are somewhat sweeter than those of the mesquite, might be chewed and eaten raw as a delicacy but they were more commonly dried,

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way. Children commonly ate the sweet bark of sumac *(Rhus cismontana)* as a delicacy.

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Not unlike the above was the obtaining of sugar from the box elder maple *(Acer negundo)*. In olden times, before sugar was easily obtainable commercially, these Indians secured material for sweetening by boiling the inner bark, and outer portions of the wood just beneath the bark, until the sugar which it contained crystallized out. Also scrapings from the inner bark were dried and placed in the *xel* (parfleche) for winter use. Likewise sap from the New Mexico maple *(Acer neomexicana)* was collected and boiled to obtain syrup and sugar.

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A number of species of fruits were occasionally eaten but did not constitute important Apache foods. Among these were strawberries *(Fragaria bracteata)* and the purplish fruits of the wild privet *(Forestiera neomexicana)*, which were always eaten without preparation. Raspberries *(Rubus arizonicus)*, mulberries *(Morus microphylla)*, and hawthorne fruits *(Crataegus cerronis)* were either eaten fresh or pressed into pulpy cakes, dried, and stored for winter use.

[251]

Wild gooseberries and currants were quite commonly used. The purplish red fruits of the spiny-fruited gooseberry *(Ribes pinetorum)* has a pleasant acid flavor when ripe in September, at which time the spines may be easily brushed from the fruits. They were ground and compressed into cakes for winter consumption. Another gooseberry *(R. leptanthum)*, which has smooth fruits, somewhat larger than the former species, was eaten fresh or made into cakes for use during the winter. This species was the most eagerly sought because of the size of its fruits. The rather insipid fruits of two species of black currant, *Ribes wolfii* and *R. mescalerium*, were at times eaten without preparation by these Indians. Fruits of the former, in earlier times, were ground, dried, and pressed into cakes for storage, but are now used for jelly; those of the latter species, however, are usually cooked. Grapes *(Vitis arizonicus)*, which grow

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from our informants that these Apache ever distilled this or any other alcoholic beverage. 273

Both sotol and mescal beverages were reported as being older than *tulbai*. Informants said that they learned the use of *tulbai* from the Lipans and the Yaqui. [177]

Another mildly intoxicating alcoholic beverage formerly prepared, although at present not in common use, was made by finely grinding cooked mesquite *(Prosopis glandulosa)* pods and seeds. A little water was added during the grinding process and more to the ground mass, then the mixture allowed to ferment for a day and a night. This is a very old drink among the Apache. [137] [178]

These Apache formerly prepared and still make pinole as a very common drink. The fresh fruits of screw bean *(Strombocarpa pubescens)* were ground and to the meal was added some sweetening substance (sugar is now used) to make a thick drink. Another method of preparation was boiling the fruit until it got soft, making a sort of gruel, then adding the sweetening substance and drinking it. 272 [137]

The fruits of a number of species of Opuntia or prickly pear cactus were and still are mashed, the juice extracted and drunk, without fermenting, as a refreshing beverage which was regarded as very healthful. Non-intoxicating beverages were also made by boiling the leaves and young stems of the sage *(Artemisia aromatica)*, *Leucelene ericoides*, horsemint *(Monarda menthaefolia)*, pennyroyal *(Hedeoma nana)*, as well as the leaves of the lip fern *(Cheilanthes fendleri)* and cota *(Thelesperma gracile)*. This last named species which the Apache call "tea" has been extensively used in common with practically all Indians of southwestern United States, from ancient times down to the present, to make a beverage. Portions of the plant were wrapped into small bundles and might be used fresh or stored indefinitely. When boiled in water a red liquid was produced and was usually consumed without being sweetened, although the addition of a little sugar made the drink even more palatable. A drink used much as is coffee, made by boiling the fresh leaves of mariola *(Parthenium in-* [137] [171] [263] [137]

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It is not generally known that the Mescalero Apache (not the Chiricahua) ate peyote. They are not represented on Shonle's *(26)* map of the distribution of the use of peyote in the United States nor are they listed in the booklet compiled under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs *(17)*. Opler *(22)* has shown, however, that the Mescalero Apache once practiced elaborate ceremonies centering around the utilization of peyote and he has gathered considerable data from former peyote eaters regarding the details of these rites and their place in the religious life of the tribe.

One of our informers said: "I ate it once in Oklahoma four or five years ago. I ate five ('buttons') my first time. It sure tasted strong. A man put eagle feathers over me and said, 'Go on and eat.' I did. I ate one at a time. They were bigger than the ones you have. They were green yet. One man ate 106 of them." The alkaloid of the plants affects the eyes and produces trances in which one has fantastic and colorful visions *(26:1)* but it is neither intoxicating nor habit forming. These Apache also claim that if the hairs from the plant get into your eyes they destroy the eyesight. Details concerning chemical composition and physiological and psychological effects of peyote are given in a bulletin by the office of Indian Affairs *(23)*.

The small, red fruits of the turkey or coyote cactus *(Opuntia leptocaulis)*, known among the Spanish-Americans as *tasajulla* and *garrambulo*, are still used by being crushed and mixed with *tulbai*. They are reported as having such pronounced narcotic effects that the Indians will not walk close to plants which bear them, and they claim that eating a single fruit will make one "drunk and dizzy."

These Apache do not now and apparently never have used Jimson weed *(Datura meteloides)*, or any other species of the genus, as a narcotic.

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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121 754 128 plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern. [178]

754 787 539 1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[1] He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd lock up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.[2] They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

[648] [195] [577] [291] [835]

[1] This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest.

[2] Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses.

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787 776 539 [175] with horns and a tail with spears on; a red Devil, and every time he spoke, fire came out of his mouth.[23] The Devil told me, 'There's only one way you can be saved. You have to promise me that you'll be a faithful worker for me. Are you going to do it? If you say no, you're going to fall straight down and go to those beasts.'"

Then he replied, "Yes, I promise you I'll be a faithful worker for you if you will let me live in the world once more."

The man said, "All at once the Devil says, 'All right, stand up on the bank,' and he disappeared for a while. And then came the Devil with a high table and a big book and red ink. And he put the table there, and the book there, and I was standing right there. And he commenced to open the book, all written with red ink. He said, 'You see those men living here. Those are my men. They are living on earth. They are signed up with me already.' He kept turning the pages and came to the list of names. It was a big book and there were many pages to fill still. The Devil said, 'If you promise me you will do everything in this world that is wicked, if you will engage in mean ways and all that, I'll let you live a long while.'"

And they claim this man said, "All right," and signed up with him. After he signed his name the Devil disappeared. Then he opened his eyes. He was back on earth. His people were all crying and shouting.

He said, "What are you crying for? I'm not dead."

From then on he got well. He's a good worker too.

[178] [578] [23] In this account the Devil takes the place of evil power of older Chiricahua traditions and prolongs the life of the man who agrees to do his bidding. Needless to say, the person who made these allegations is a political and social enemy of the one who is accused of "signing up" with the Devil.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
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(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 200–207.)

Supernatural power, at least supernatural power of the beneficent kind, may offer those to whom it appears a means of curing the sick, of exposing sorcerers, of finding lost objects, of determining the whereabouts of the enemy, or of succeeding in ventures of warfare, raid, and the hunt. In other words, Chiricahua religion is practical rather than mystical in its primary aims. It is concerned with physical well-being, material abundance, and safety rather than with salvation or morality. This does not mean that the Chiricahua Apache are indifferent to standards of conduct. They have a well-defined moral code and many of its provisions are strict and lofty. Their method of maintaining it, however, is through social understandings, sanctions, and public opinion rather than by reference to religion. Man's blunders in personal or social relations may be remiss and reprehensible but they are not often considered the concern of the supernaturals.

One day a missionary gave a talk on temperance. He said it was a sin to eat too much or to drink too much. The Chiricahua gathered together after the sermon and talked. They were saying, "What's the matter with that fellow? What's he talking about?" There is nothing in our religion that has this idea. They couldn't understand it.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 214–216.)

The reality for the Chiricahua of supernatural power or of the vision experience which ends in the acquisition of a ceremony must not be underestimated. Even the younger person who is today rather indifferent about obtaining a ceremony or a guardian spirit for himself is positive about the validity of the experiences of the older, more religiously motivated generation.

These men really have power. Take my father: he's an old man now and they are taking care of him at the hospital, but he did a lot of good in his day. Men like that really see things. They don't just imagine it. The animals and powers come